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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W
---------- 008479
O 020610Z FEB 76 ZFF-4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LOS ANGELES
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 02001

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJECT: LARAMIE SPEECH -- DRAFT 7, FEBRUARY 1, 1976

FOR EAGLEBURGER AND LORD ONLY FROM BARBIAN

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT ADDRESSEES AT 7:00 A.M.

1. FOLLOWINGIS LATEST VERSION OF LARAMIE SPEECH. RODMAN
AND HILL HAVE PROVIDED LIGHT EDITS AT THE SECRETARY'S INSTRUCTION.
I ASKED SECRETARY IF HE WANTED EDITS FROM YOU. HE SAID HE DID
NOT THINK HE WOULD HAVE MUCH TIME, THEREBY GIVING AN AMBIGUOUS
ANSWER. IN AS MUCH AS YOUR EDITS COULD NOT REACH US BEFORE
SECRETARY IS FULLY ENGAGED IN HIS PROGRAM, I DO NOT REPEAT NOT
BELIEVE EXTENSIVE EDITS ARE NEEDED. HOWEVER, I WOULD APPRECIATE
HAVING YOUR GENERAL COMMENTS SOONEST.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

1. IT IS GOOD TO BE HERE IN THE WEST. THE PEOPLE OF THIS
LAND REMIND ME ONCE AGAIN THAT AMERICA IS NOT THE CYNICAL,
CONFUSED, AND TIRED NATION SO MANY IN WASHINGTON WOULDHAVE US
BELIEVE IT IS. INSTEAD, AS I HAVE SO OFTEN SEEN IN MY TRIPS
AROUND THE COUNTRY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CONTINUE TO HAVE
PRIDE IN THEIR COUNTRY. THEY KNOW THAT AMERICA HAS DONE MORE
FOR THE WORLD, AND FOR PEACE OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS THAN ANY
NATION IN HISTORY. THEY KNOW WE HAVE GIVEN MORE OF OUR
RESOURCES, FED MORE OF THE STARVING, TAKEN IN MORE IMMIGRANTS,
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AND EDUCATED MORE PEOPLE FROM OTHER LANDS THAN ANY OTHER
BEFORE US. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TIRED OF HEARING HOW EVIL WE
ARE, HOW TERRIBLE ARE OUR MISTAKES, AND HOW MISGUIDED OUR

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PURPOSES. THEY KNOW BETTER: AND THEY WANT BETTER.

2. IT IS TRUE THAT WE HAVE PASSED THROUGH A DECADE AND MORE OF TRAGEDY; WE HAVE BEEN WITNESS TO ASSASSINATION; WE HAVE BEEN THROUGH A TRAGIC WAR THAT SHATTERED OUR DOMESTIC UNITY; AND WE HAVE ENDURED OUR GREATEST CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR.

3. BUT WE HAVE COME THROUGH THESE DIFFICUULT TIMES WITH OUR INSTITUTIONS AS STRONG AS EVER. WE REMAIN THE WORLD'S GREATEST DEMOCRACY; WE CONTINUE TO BE THE BASTION TO WHICH OTHER NATIONS LOOK FOR THEIR PROTECTION; AND WE REMAIN THE SYMBOL OF HOPE TO THE MILLIONS AROUND THE WORLD WHO LIVE IN TYRANNY AND PROVERTY BUT YEARN FOR FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY.

4. AMERICA, FROM ITS BIRTH, HAS MEANT MUCH TO THE WORLD. THE FOUNDING FATERS WERE ANIMATED BY A SENSE OF OBLIGATION, AND OF MISSION TO OTHER POPPLES AND TO POSTERITY. OUR REVOLUTION, OUR INDEPENDENCE, AND OUR DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES SET EXAMPLES WHICH EXCITED AND ENCOURAGED IMITATION AROUND THE GLOBE. AMERICA REPRESENTED AN INSPIRATION AND THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL EXPERIMENT OF MODERN HISTORY -- THE SPECTACLE OF SUCCESSFUL SELF-GOVERNMENT, ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, SOCIAL EQUALITY, CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE TREMENDOUS CAPACITIES OF A FREE PEOPLE TO SHAPE THEIR OWN DESTINY.

5. LATER IN OUR HISTORY THESE VALUES AFFECTED THE WORLD IN A NEW WAY -- AS A POWERFUL MAGNET DRAWING GREAT TIDES OF IMMIGRATION. IT WAS MOVEMENT OF IDEAS AS WELL AS PEOPLE WHICH NOT ONLY SHAPED THIS NATION, BUT VASTLY ALTERED THE ASSUMPTIONS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF THE OLD WORLD.

6. IN RECENT DECADES, AMERICA'S IMPACT ON THE WORLD HAS BEEN MORE IMMEDIATE. FOR MUCH OF THIS CENTURY, GLOBAL PEACE AND PROSPERITY HAVE DEPENDED UPON OUR COMMITMENTS. WHEN WORLD WAR II ENDED, WE TOOK THE LEAD IN HELPING A
SHATTERED GLOBE REBUILD FROM DEVASTATION. WE SHAPED THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL SYSTEM THAT SPREAD PROPSERITY AND
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ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY TO FAR CORNERS OF THE WORLD. WE BUILT PEACETIME ALLIANCES TO MAINTAIN GLOBAL STABILITY AND DEFEND THE VALUES WE SHARE WITH THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES. WE RESISTED AGGRESSION. WE MEDIATED CONFLICTS. WE HELPED EASE THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION. AND WE LED THE FIGHT AGAINST DISEASE, HUNGER, IGNORANCE AND THE FORCES OF OPPRESSION AND TERROR THAT HAVE SCARRED THIS CENTURY.

7. NO OTHER NATION HAS MADE SUCH A CONTRIBUTION. NO OTHER NATION CAN MAKE SUCH A CO TRIBUTION NOW. THE BEST HOPE FOR A PLANET STILL BESET BY WAR, POVERTY AND TYRANNY IS A STRONG,

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COMMITTED, VIGILANT AMERICA.

NATION- BUILDING IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

8. WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT IN SERVING PEACE AND PROGRESS
WE BOTH SERVE OURSELVES AND LIVE UP TO OUR BEST TRADITIONS.

9. WE DECLARED OUR INDEPENDENCE "IN DECENT RESPECT TO THE
OPINIONS OF MANKIND." OUR FOUNDING FATERS WERE SOPHISTICATED
STATESMEN WHO UNDERSTOOD THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER AND
KNEW HOW OUR COUNTRY COULD PROFIT FROM IT. OUR INDEPENDENCE WAS
NOT WON BY AMERICAN ARMS ALONE. THE SHREWED DIPOLIMACY OF
FRANKLIN AND JEFFERSON LED TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF BRITAIN'S
ENEMIES FRANCE, SPAIN AND RUSSIA AND EVENTUALLY ENGINEERED THE
ONLY DEFEAT BRITAIN SUFFERED IN THE MODERN ERA. WHEN JOHN JAY
WON THE BRITISH CROWN'S RECOGNITION AND LIQUIDATED THE RESIDUAL
PROBLEMS OF OUR WAR WITH ENGLAND, WE CUT LOOSE FROM OUR
TEMOPRARY ALLIIES.

10. FOR MORE THAN THREE DECADES AFTER WE GAINED OUR INDEPENDENCE
WE LIVED IN AN AGE OF INTERNATIONAL TURMOIL THAT SAW US GO TO
THE BRINK OF WAR WITH FRANCE AND SUFFER THE CAPTURE OF OUR
CAPITAL BY THE BRITISH. AGAIN, ALERT TO NEW OPPORTUNITIES
PROVIDED BY CHANGES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, WE MOVED
ASTUTELY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEM THE EFFECTIVE ELIMINATION OF
FRANCE AND SPAIN FROM THE HEMISPHERE, THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA
IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST, AND THE GROWING DISAFFECTION OF GREAT
BRITAIN FROM THE EUROPEAN POWERS LED US IN 1823 TO CONCERT THE
MONROE DOCTRINE WITH GREAT BRITAIN. THEREAFTER, FOR THE HUNDRED
YEARS BETWEEN WATERLOO AND 1914, AMERICA BENEFITTED FROM THE
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EXISTENCE OF A WORLD BALANCE OF POWER, PRESIDED OVER BY BRITAIN,
WHICH MAINTAINED GLOBAL STABILITY AND PREVENTED INTERNATIONAL
WAR. IN THE WORDS OF PRIME MINISTER CANNING, THE DOCTRINE
"CALLED THE NEW WORLD INTO EXISTENCE TO REDRESS THE BALANCE
OF THE OLD."

11. THUS, BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE AND OUR SKILL IN USING IT
PROTECTED THE YOUNG UNITED STATES; IT ENABLED US, IN RELIANCE
UPON THE BRITISH NAVY, TO TURN OUR BACK ON THE ATLANTIC AND
OPEN THE CONTINENT BEFORE US.

12. THEODORE ROOSEVELT NOTED THAT LONG BEFORE JEFFERSON
NEGOTIATED AN END TO THE FRENCH CLAIM TO LOUISIANA, FOREIGN
CLAIMS HAD BEEN EFFECTIVELY UNDERMINED BY THE GREAT WESTERN
MOVEMENT OF AMERICANS AND THE FREE COMMUNITIES THEY QUICKLY
FOUNDED. BUT THE CONSOLIDATION OF THEIR PIONEERING ACHIEVEMENT
WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THOSE NEGOTIATIONS AND BY THE SUBSEQUENT
SERIES OF REMARKABLE DIPLOMATIC SUCCESSES. THE ANNEXATION
OF FLORIDA, THE OREGON BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT WITH GREAT BRITAIN,

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THE TREATY OF GUADELOUPE HIDALGO, THE GADSDEN PURCHASE,
SECRETARY OF STATE SEWARD'S PURCHASE OF ALASKA FROM RUSSIA
-- ALL WERE TRIUMPHS OF DIPLOMACY DURING DECADES WHEN MOST
CITIZENS BELIEVED AMERICA DID NOT HAVE -- OR NEED -- A
FOREIGN POLICY.

13. INDEED, OUR VERY ACHIEVEMENTS IN DEALING WITH THE WORLD
BROUGHT AMERICANS UNDER THE SWAY OF A SHARED MYTHOLOGY.
AS A SOCIETY MADE UP OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAD FLED THE
PRESECUTIONS AND POWER POLITICS OF THE OLD WORLD, AMERICANS --
WHETHER MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS OR REFUGEES FROM THE FAILED
REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 -- CAME TO ASSUME THAT WE WERE BEYOND
THE REACH OF THE IMPERATIVES OF TRADITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY.

14. WHILE OUR SECURITY CONTINED TO BE ASSURED BY OUR PLACE
IN THE INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TIME, WE BECAME BEMUSED BY
THE POPULAR BELIEF THAT PRESIDENT MONROE'S OBLIGATION TO DEFEND THE
WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND, INDEED, ALMOST ANY OBLIGATION WE
MIGHT CHOOSE TO ASSUME, DEPENDED ON UNILATERAL AMERICAN
DECISIONS TO BE ENTERED INTO OR ENDED ENTIRELY AT OUR DISCRETION.
SHIELDED BY TWO OCEANS AND ENRICHED BY A BOUNTIFUL NATURE, WE
PROCLAIMED OUR SPECIAL SITUATION AS UNIVERSALLY VALID EVEN
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WHILE OTHER NATIONS WITH A NARROWER MARGIN OF SURVIVAL KNEW THAT
THEIR RANGE OF CHOICE WAS FAR MORE LIMITED.

15. THE PREOCCUPATION OF OTHER NATIONS WITH SECURITY ONLY
REINFORCED OUR SENSE OF UNIQUENESS. WE CAME INCREASINGLY
TO REGARD DIPLOMACY WITH SUSPICION. ARMS AND ALLIANCES WERE
SEEN AS IMMORAL AND REACTIONARY. NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONSIDERED
LESS A MEANS OF RECONCILING OUR IDEALS WITH OUR INTERESTS,
THAN A DEVICE TO ENTANGLE US IN THE CONSTANT QUARRELS OF A
MORALLY QUESTIONABLE WORLD. OUR NATIVE INCLINATION FOR STRAIGHT-
FORWARDNESS BROUGHT INCREASING IMPATIENCE WITH DIPLOMACY,
WHOSE ESSENTIAL ATTRIBUTE IS AMBIGUITY AND COMPROMISE.

16. IN THIS ATMOSPHERE EVEN THE THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA --
WHICH EXCLUDED RUSSIA FROM OUR CONTINENT --
WAS REGARDED IN ITS DAY AS A TOWERING FOLLY EXPLAINABLE ONLY IN
TERMS OF AMERICAN GULLIBILITY IN THE FACE OF OLD WORLD
DIPLOMATIC GUILE. CONGRESS WAS PREVAILED UPON ONLY WITH THE GREATEST
DIFFICULTY TO PROVIDE THE SEVEN MILLION DOLLARS TO COMPLETE
THE DEAL. THE MYTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN INEPTITUDE IN ITS
DIPLOMATIC PURSUITS HAS CARRIED INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.
WILL ROGERS WAS ALWAYS ASSURED OF LAUGH WHEN HE CRACKED,
"AMERICA NEVER LOST A WAREAND NEVER WON A CONFERENCE"--
AN ATTITUDE WHICH EVEN CONTEMPORARY SECRETARIES OF STATE HAVE
BEEN KNOWN TO EXPERIENCE. WITH THE UHUMILITY FOR WHICH I AM
FAMOUS, I OF COURSE REJECT THIS ATTITUDE.

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17. FORGETFUL OF THE WISDOM AND SKILLED STATECRAFT BY WHICH THE FOUNDING FATERS WON OUR INDEPENDENCE AND SECURED OUR SAFETY, AND DISDAINFUL OF THE TECHNIQUES BY WHICH ALL NATIONS -- EVEN THE UNITED STATES -- MUST PRESERVE THEIR INTERESTS, AMERICA ENTERED THE TWENTIETH CENTURY THE MOST COMPLEX AND TURBULENT TIME IN HISTORY -- LARGELY UNPREPARED FOR THE PART WE WOULD BE CALLED UPON TO PLAY.

18. AS LORD BRYCE SAID IN HIS AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH, AMERICA HAD BEEN SAILING "ON A SUMMER SEA", BUT A CLOUD BANK WAS "ON THE HORIZON AND NOW NO LONGER DISTANT, A TIME OF MISTS AND SHADOWS, WHEREIN DANGERS MAY BE CONCEALED WHOSE FORM AND MAGNITUDE SHE CAN SCARCELY CONJECTURE."

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AMERICA'S ASCENDANCE: MAINTAINING GLOBAL STABILITY

19. IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THIS CENTURY AMERICA SEEMED TO FACE A CHOICE BETWEEN CONTINUED DETACHMENT AND ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFAIRS. BUT THIS WAS MORE APPARENT THAN REAL,1 *94 5#3 PAX BRITANNICA ON WHICH WE HAD RELIED FOR SO LONG WAS COMING.

19. IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THIS CENTURY AMERICA SEEMED TO FACE A CHOICE BETWEEN CONTINUED DETACHMENT AND ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFAIRS. BUT THIS WAS MORE APPARENT THAN REAL, FOR THE PAX BRITANNICA ON WHICH WE HAD RELIED FOR SO LONG WAS COMING TO AN END. WE HAD BECOME -- ALMOST WITHOUT NOTICING IT-- THE WORLD'S MAJOR ECONOMIC POWER. INCREASING, WE WERE THE ONLY DEMOCRATIC NATION WITH SUFFICIENT POWER TO MAINTAIN A PRECARIOUS WORLD BALANCE. BUT NOTHING IN OUR EXPERIENCE HAD EQUIPPED US TO RECOGNIZE OUR NEW RESPONSIBILITY. WE CONTINUED TO REJECT THE DEMANDS OF THE POLITICS OF POWER, AND ABHORRED ALLIANCES AS CONTRARY TO AMERICAN PRINCIPLES. IN THE PLACE OF FOREGN POLICY WE FELL BACK ON OUR TRADITION OF LAW, IN REPEATED AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO LEGISLATE SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS. MANY THOUGHT THAT POWER AND PRINCIPLE WERE FOREVER INCOMPATIBLE.

20. OUR ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR I WAS PRODUCED BY REAL GEO-POLITICAL INTEREST, SUCH AS FREEDOM OF THE SEA AND THE THREAT OF THE DOMINATION OF EUROPE BY A HOSTILE POWER; BUT WE CHOSE TO INTERPRET OUR PARTICIPATION WITH MASSIVE POWER IN LEGALLAND IDEALISTIC TERMS; WE FOUGHT THE WAR "TO END ALL WARS." THE INEVITABLE DISILLUSION WITH AN IMPERFECT OUTCOME LED TO A TIDE OF ISOLATIONISM. WE RESPONDED AGAIN WITH MORAL AND LEGAL GESTURES -- HUMANITARIAN RELIEF; NEW DISARMAMENT SCHEMES -- THE KELLOGGBRANDT PACT TO BAN WAR -- AT A TIME WHEN THE WAR HAD BROUGHT INTO QUESTION THE VERY NATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER ITSELF. WE SOUGHT SECURITY IN ALOOFNESS JUST AS WE TURNED TO SCAPEGOATING -- ROOTING OUT THE "MUNITIONSMAKERS"

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-- TO EXPLAIN WHY WE HAD EVER ENGAGED IN SUCH AN UNDERTAKING AS
THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THE GREAT DEPRESSION DREW OUR ENERGIES
FURTHER INWARD TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF OUR OWN SOCIETY
AND EVEN WHILE ECONOMIC UPHEAVAL SIMULTANEOUSLY GENERATED
OVERWHELMING PERILS ABROAD.

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21. OUR REFUSAL TO ADMIT THAT FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE RELATED
TO INTERESTS LAD US, IN THE YEARS BETWEEN THE WARS, TO TREAT
ALLIES AS RIVALS, WHOSE ARMAMENTS CONTRIBUTED TO INTERNATIONAL
TENSIONS. AT THEBRINK OF WORLD WAR II ISOLATIONISO AHD BEEN
TRANSORMED FROM A COMFORTABLE ASSUMPTION TO A DEEPLY-FELT
CONVICTION. JUST AS THE WORLD WAS ABOUT TO IMPINGE ON US AS
NEVER BEFORE, WE HAD VIRTUALLY ABANDONED THE BASIC PRECAUTIONS
NEEDED TO PRESERVE OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. ON Y WITH THE GREATEST
DIFFICULTY COULD PRESIDENT ROGANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT BEGIN TO ASSERT
GLOBAL LEADERSHIP OPENLY AND TAKE STEPS AGAINST THE MOUNTING
DANGERS BY PREPARING AMERICA FOR WAR.

22. WORLD WAR II WAS WELL UNDERWAY BEFORE WE WERE SHOCKED OUT
OF THE REMNANTS OF ISOLATION BY EXTERNAL ATTACK. TOTAL VICTORY

AND THE REFUSAL TO CONSIDER THE SECURITY OF THE POST-WAR WORLD
IN TERMS OF ANY NOTION OF EQUILIBRIUM ILL PREPARED US FOR THE
WAR'S AFTERMATH WHEN THE DESTRUCTION OF EUROPE'S TRADITIONAL
POWER CENTERS SUDDENLY PROJECTED SOVIET INTO THE CENTER OF
THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT.

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EXDIS

SOR EAGLEBURGER AND LORD ONLY FROM BARBIAN

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT ADDRESSEES AT 7:00 A.M.

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23. YET IN THE FIRST POSTWAR YEARS AMERICA FOUND WITHIN ITSELF EXTRAORDINARY CAPACITIES OF STATESMANSHIP AND CREATIVITY. LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIS AND MANY BACKGROUNDS -- TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER, VANDENBERG AND MARSHALL, ACHESON AND DULLES -- BUILT A NATIONAL CONSENSUS FOR RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN WORLD LEADERSHIP FOR A FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON BOTH PRINCIPLE AND PRAGMATISM.

24.ALBERT EINSTEIN SAID AT THE OUTSET OF HE NUCLEAR AGE THA "EVERYTHING HAS CHANGED, EXCEPT OUR MODE OF THINKING." TO COPE WITH A WORLD WHOSE BASIC CONDITIONS WERE SO RADICALLY ALERTED WAS A TASK COMPARABLE IN MAGNITUDE TO THAT WHICH FACED THE FOUNDING FATHERS. WHEN DEAN ACHESON SAID HE WAS "PRESENT AT THE RREATION" HE REFERRED NOT ONLY TO THE CREATION OF OUR POSTWAR POLICY, BUT TO A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

25. AMERICAN
FOREIGN POLICY HAD COME FULL CIRCLE. THE SOPHISTICATION OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS MANIPULATED THE BALANCE OF POWER TO GAIN OUR INDEPENDENCE AND THEN DREW ON THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM TO ASSURE OUR SURVIVAL. A CENTURY AND A QUARTER OF ALMOST TOTAL SECURITY TEMPTED US TO ISOLATIONLSM. AND NOW, AFTER TWO WORLD WARS IN THIS CENTURY, WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THE RESPONSIBILITIES-- AND THE BURDENS -- OF WORLD LEADERSHIP ARE INESCAPABLE.
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26. AMERICANS CAN BE ENORMOUSLY PROUD OF WHAT THEIR COUNTRY ACCOMPLISHED IN THE POST-WAR DECADES TO BUILD A MORE STABLE, SECURE AND PROSPEROUS WORLD. THE RECOVERY OF WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN, THE CREATION AND REVITALIZATION OF PEACETIME ALLIANCES, THE SHAPING OF THE GLOBAL TRADE AND MONETARY SYSTEM, THE ECONOMIC ADVANCE OF NEWER AND POORER NATIONS, THE MEASURES TO CONTROL THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE -- THESE COMPRISE AN ENDURING ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP.

27. AMERICA HAS BEEN THRUST INO THE ROLE OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP WITH A DUAL RESPONSIBILITY; WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR SECURITY BY GLOBAL PEACE AND BY THE TRADITIONAL METHODS OF BALANCE OF POWER AND DIPLOMACY. BUT WE KNOW THAT NUCLEAR WAR COULD DESTROY CIVILIZATION AND THEREFORE WE MUS GO BEYOND TRADITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY TO A NEW ERA OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND A WORLD OF COOPERATION BASED ON JUSTICE AND FREEDOM.

THE TRADITIONAL AGENDA OF WAR AND PEACE

28. OUR WELL-BEING BEGINS WITH STRENGTH AT HOME. TO KEEP AMERICA STRONG AND SECURE, WE WILL MAINTAIN THE MILITARY POWER NEEDED TO MEET ANY CHALLENGE. BUT SECURITY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED IN ISOLATION. OUR CLOSE TIES WITH THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, CANADA AND JAPAN HAVE BEEN

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THE CORNERSTONE OF WORLD STABILITY AND PEACE FOR A GENERATION.
WE SHARE A COMMON CONCEPTION OF HUMAN DIGNITY, A COMMON
INTEREST IN PEACE AND PROSPERIY AND A COMMON CONVICTION
OF LINKED DESTINY. ODAY WE LOOK BEYOND MILITARY ISSUES TO
JOINT ENDEAVORS ACROSS A BROAD RANGE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY:
WE HAVE COORDINAED OUR DIPLOMACY TO EASE GLOBAL TENSIONS,
OUR POLICIES FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OUR EFFORTS IN NEW
FIELDS SUCH AS ENERGY.

29. A SECURE AND STABLE WORLD REQUIRES AS WELL THAT WE
SEEK YHE RECONCILIATION OF INTERESTS WITH POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES.
WE SHALL NEVER LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT IN AN AGE THREATENED
BY THERMONUCLEAR EXTINCTION, THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IS A MORAL
IMPERATIVE; WITHOUT IT NOTHING ELSE WE DO WILL BE OF ENDURING
VALUE.

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30. PEACE, TO BE STABLE AND DURABLE, MUST PLACE ON A MORE
RELIABLE BASIS THE RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS THAT POSSESS THE
POWER O DESTROY OUT PLANET. THE SUSPICION AND RIVALRY OF
TWO GENERATIONS WILL NOT SOON BE SWEPT AWAY, AND WE HAVE NO
ILLUSION ABOUT THE CONTINUING MORAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT.
BUT, WE WILL SPARE NO EFFORT TO SEEK RELIABLE, RECIPROCAL
MEASURES FOR CONTAINING THE STRAEGIC ARMS RACE; WE WILL
CONTINUE TO PURSUE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS ACROSS A
WIDE RANGE OF ECHNICAL, CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL FIELDS TO
DEEPEN THE MUTUAL STAKE IN PEACE.

31. PROGRESS TOWARDS RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND OUR OVERALL
ATTITUDE TOWARD THOSE WHO WOULD OPPOSE US, HAS ALWAYS DEPENDED
UPON RESTRAINED AND RESPONSIBLE CONDUCT ON THEIR PART -- ON
ISSUES WHERE AMERICA'S INTERESTS ARE AFFECTED DIRECTLY, AS IN
DUROPE, AS WELL AS IN PERIPHERAL CONFLICTS, SUCH AS ANGOLA.
LET NO NAION MISCONSTRUE AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO AN EASING
OF TENSIONS WITH A LICENSE TO FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS. LET NO
COUNRY BELIEVE THAT AMERICANS WILL LONG REMAIN INDIFFERENT
TO THE DISPACH OF EXPEDITIONARY FORCES AND VAST ARMS TO
IMPOSE MINORITY GOVERNMENTS -- ESPECIALLY WHEN THAT
EXPENDITIONARY FORCE COMES FROM A NATION OF THE WESTERN
HEMISPHERE. AMERICANS MAY BE SLOW TO ROUSE BUT THEY WIILL
DO THEIR DUTY IMPACABLE ONCE A THREAT IS CLEAR.

32.N ACTIVE AMERICAN ROLE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD
IS ALSO ESSENTIAL. THE MIDDLE EAST IS PERHAPS HE MOST
CRITICAL EXAMPLE. WE MUST BE INVOLVED THERE BECAUSE OF
OUR HISTORICAL AND MORAL COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL; BECAUSE OF
OUR IMPORTANT INTERESTS IN THE ARAB WORLD; BECAUSE CONTINUED
INSTABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST STRAINS OUR RELATIONS WITH
ALLIES AND RISKS SEVERE GLOBAL ECONOMIC DISLOCATION; AND
BECAUSE CONTINUING CRISIS RISKS DIRECT U.S. - SOCIET

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CONFRONTATION.

33. IT IS BECAUSE OF THE BROAD SIGNIFICANCE OF REGIONAL
CONFLICTS SUCH AS THOSE IN ANGOLA AND THE MIDDLE EAST THAT
THE UNITED STATES CANNOT FOREGO INVOLVEMEN. BUT IS WOULD
BE ABSURD TO CONCLUDE FROM THIS THAT THE UNITED STATES
SEEKS TO OPERATE AS THE WORLD'S POLICEMAN. THERE ARE
INNUMERABLE LOCAL CONFLICTS AROUND THE GLOBE IN WHICH WE
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NEITHER HAVE NOR SEEK ANY ROLE. WE DO NOT WISH TO POLICE
HE WORLD BUT NEITHER WILL WE ACCEPT IT IF THEKSOVIET UNION
ATTEMPTS TO DO SO. THE SOVIET AND CUBAN PATTERN OF CONDUCT
IN AFRICA, IF CONTINUED IN OTHER AREAS, COULD UNRAVEL
GLOBAL SECURITY. THE TENSIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, IF NOT
OVERCOME, COULD THREATEN GLOBAL PEACE. WITH PRUDENCE AND
WISDOM WE CAN PREVENT DANGERS TO OUR WIDER INTERESTS A
FAR LESS COST THAN WE WILL INEVITABLY HAVE TO PAY IF WE
ABDICATE RESPONSIBILITY NOW. WE CANNOT ESCAPE THE
FUNDAMENTAL REALITY THAT IT IS THE UNITED STATES, ALONE AMONG
THE FREE NAIONS OF THE WORLD, THAT IS CAPABLE -- AND THEREFORE
RESPONSIBLE -- OF MAINTAINING THE GLOBAL BALANCE AGAINS
THOSE WHO WOULD SEEK HEGEMONY; THAT WITHOUT AMERICAN STRENGTH
HERE CAN BE NO SECURITYV WITHOUT AMERICAN DEDICAION HERE
CAN BE NO PROGRESS.

THE NEW AGENDA: BUILDING A COOPERAIVE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

34. THE STRENGTH AND DEERMINATION OF THIS COUNRY ARE
FUNDAMENAL TO ALL ELSE WE DO. BUT TRUE PROGRESS REQUIRES MORE.
WE MUST SEEK O BREAK PAST PATTERNS OF CONFRONTATION AND
REACION. IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE FOR AMERICA OR ANY OTHER
NATION TO ACHIEVE ITS PURPOSES BY PHYSICAL POWER ALONE; IN
TODAY'S WORLD INFLUENCE DERIVES NOT ONLY FROM MILITARY
STRENGTY, BUT ALSO FROM ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL
FACTORS, FROM THE ABILITY TO INSPIRE OTHER NATIONS WITH THE
CONVICTION THAT THEY HAVE A STAKE IN A SHARED FUTURE.

35. N W SHRINKING PLANET OF SELECTIVE POWERS AND LINKED DESTINIES,
WE ARE CALLED UPON TO DEMONSTRATE VISION AND PATIENCE. OUR
GENERATION HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHAPE A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER.
IF WE SUCCEED, THE PROSPECTS FOR AMERICA AND THE WORLD ARE BRIGHT.
IF WE FAIL THE WORLD WILL BE SLAPED BY OTHERS WHO DO NOT SHARE
OUR PRINCIPLES; PUR PERIOD WILL WITNESS MOUNTING CONFLICT AND
SUFFERING.

36. WE CAN APPROACH THESE NEW CHALLENGES WITH CONFIDENCE.
OUR TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE, OUR MANAGERIAL GENIUS, OUR
ACHIEVEMENTS IN SCIENCE AND MEDICINE, THE PRODUCTIVITY OF OUR
FARMS AND INDUSTRIES, OUR PHYSICAL RESOURCES, OUR COMMITMENT
O THE RULE OF LAW -- HAVE GIVEN US A LEADING ROLE IN SOLVING

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HE GLOBAL PROBLEMS OF INTERDEPENDENCE. WE HAVE BEEN DEMON-
STRATING THE RESILIENCY OF OUR ECONOMY BY EMERGING FROM A
GLOBAL RECESSION FASTER AND MORE STEADILY THAN ANY OTHER NATION.

37. FUNDAMENTAL TO THIS EFFORT IS AN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE OF
INERNATIONAL "ECONOMIC COOPERATION". IN THE PAST FEW YEARS,
AMERICANS HAVE SEEN CLEARLY JUST HOW MUCH INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC RELATIONS DEERMINE THE PROGRESS OF ALL NATIONS
INCLUDING OUR OWN. THE OIL EMBARGO OF 1973 AND THE SUBSE-
QUENT PRICE INCREASES AND THEIR DEVASATING GLOBAL CONSEQUENCES
HAVE REMINDED US HOW INTERDEPENDENT THE WORLD HAS BECOME AND HOW
IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IS FOR OUR OWN
WELL-BEING AND FOR THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF THE RES OF
MANKIND.

38. THEUNIED STATES HAS AKEN FAR-REACHING STEPS TO LAY THE
FOUNDAIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

39. -- WE HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE OTHER GREAT INDUSTRIAL
DEMOCRACIES IN TRADE, ENERGY, AND MONETARY REFORM.

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40. -- WE HAVE ORGANIZED A COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL
PROGRAM TO EXPAND FOOD PRODUCTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND TO
CHANNEL RESOURCES -- INCLUDING THE NEW WEALTH OF THE
OIL PRODUCERS -- TO IMPROVING THE FINANCING, PRODUCTION,
STORAGE, AND DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD.

41. -- WE HAVE DEVELOPED A STRATEGY TO END OUR DOMESTIC AND
INTERNATIONAL ENERGY VULNERABILIY, AND HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL
PROGRESS IN MEETING THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS THROUGH INTERNATIONAL
AGREEMENTS TO PROTECT AGAINST FURTHER OIL EMBARGOES AND
DESTABILIZING MOVEMENS OF ASSETS HELD BY OIL-PRODUCING
COUNTRIES. ONLY LAST WEEK THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY--
A GROUP OF INDUSTRIAL CONSUMING COUNTRIES, BROUGHT TOGETHER
AT OUR INITIATIVE, ADOPTED AND SWEEPING PROGRAM OF COOPERATIVE
ACTION. WE CONSIDER THIS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT COOPERATIVE
EFFORTS OF THE PAST DECADE. UNDER IT, THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES

WILL BEGIN TO COORDINATE THEIR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORT
TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE SUPPLIES OF ENERGY--BOTH NUCLEAR

POWER AND THE MORE EXOTIC SOURCES SUCH AS SYNTHETIC AND
SOLAR ENERGY.

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42. -- AND WE HAVE PUT A SWEEPING PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

BASED ON SELF-HELP BEFORE THE NEW NATIONS.

43. THUS, WE HAVE MADE A GOOD BEGINNING, BUT THE AGENDA BEFORE US IS VAST AND URGENT, AND MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. OUR NATION'S MILITARY, ECONOMIC, AND MORAL STRENGHT IS UNPARRALLED, AND INDISPENSABLE TO ANY EFFORT TO BUILD A BETTER LIFE FOR OUR CHILDREN AND FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.
A

44. UR FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURE

19. IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THIS CENTURY AMERICA SEEMED TO FACE A CHOICE BETWEEN CONTINUED DETACHMENT AND ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFAIRS. BUT THIS WAS MORE APPARENT THAN REAL, FOR THE PAX BRITANNICA ON WHICH WE HAD RELIED FOR SO LONG WAS COMING TO AN END. WE HAD BECOME -- ALMOST WITHOUT NOTICING IT-- THE WORLD'S MAJOR ECONOMIC POWER. INCREASING, WE WERE THE ONLY DEMOCRATIC NATION WITH SUFFICIENT POWER TO MAINTAIN A PRECARIOUS WORLD BALANCE. BUT NOTHING IN OUR EXPERIENCE HAD EQUIPPED US TO RECOGNIZE OUR NEW RESPONSIBILITY. WE CONTINUED TO REJECT THE DEMANDS OF THE POLITICS OF POWER, AND ABHORRED ALLIANCES AS CONTRARY TO AMERICAN PRINCIPLES. IN THE PLACE OF FOREGN POLICY WE FELL BACK ON OUR TRADITION OF LAW, IN REPEATED AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTZMPTS TO LEGISLATE SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS. MANY THOUGHT THAT POWER AND PRINCIPLE WERE FOREVER INCOMPATIBLE.

20. OUR ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR I WAS PRODUCED BY REAL GEO-POLITICAL INTEREST, SUCH AS FREEDOM OF THE SEA AND THE THREAT OF THE DOMINATION OF EUROPE BY A HOSTILE POWER; BUT WE CHOSE TO INTERPRET OUR PARTICIPATION WITH MASSIVE POWER IN LEGAL AND IDEALISTIC TERMS; WE FOUGHT THE WAR "TO END ALL WARS."
THE INEVITABLE DISILLUSION WITH AN IMPERFECT OUTCOME LED TO A TIDE OF ISOLATIONISM. WE RESPONDED AGAIN WITH MORAL AND LEGAL GESTURES -- HUMANITARIAN RELIEF; NEW DISARMAMENT SCHEMES -- THE KELLOGGBRANDT PACT TO BAN WAR -- AT A TIME
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WHEN THE WAR HAD BROUGHT INTO QUESTION THE VERY NATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER ITSELF. WE SOUGHT SECURITY IN ALOOFNESS JUST AS WE TURNED TO SCAPEGOATING -- ROOTING OUT THE "MUNITIONSMAKERS" -- TO EXPLAIN WHY WE HAD EVER ENGAGED IN SUCH AN UNDERTAKING AS THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THE GREAT DEPRESSION DREW OUR ENERGIES FURTHER INWARD TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF OUR OWN SOCIETY AND EVEN WHILE ECONOMIC UPHEAVAL SIMULTANEOUSLY GENERATED OVERWHELMING PERILS ABROAD.

21. OUR REFUSAL TO ADMIT THAT FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE RELATED TO INTERESTS LAD US, IN THE YEARS BETWEEN THE WARS, TO TREAT

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ALLIES AS RIVALS, WHOSE ARMAMENTS CONTRIBUTED TO INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. AT THE BRINK OF WORLD WAR II ISOLATIONISM HAD BEEN TRANSFORMEDFROM A COMFORTABLE ASSUMPTION TO A DEEPLY-FELT CONVICTION. JUST AS THE WORLD WAS ABOUT TO IMPINGE ON US AS NEVER BEFORE, WE HAD VIRTUALLY ABANDONED THE BASIC PRECAUTIONS NEEDED TO PRESERVE OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. ON Y WITH THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY COULD PRESIDENT ROGANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT BEGIN TO ASSERT GLOBAL LEADERSHIP OPENLY AND TAKE STEPS AGAINST THE MOUNTING DANGERS BY PREPARING AMERICA FOR WAR.

22. WORLD WAR II WAS WELL UNDERWAY BEFORE WE WERE SHOCKED OUT OF THE REMNANTS OF ISOLATION BY EXTERNAL ATTACK. TOTAL VICTORY

AND THE REFUSAL TO CONSIDER THE SECURITY OF THE POST-WAR WORLD IN TERMS OF ANY NOTION OF EQUILIBRIUM ILL PREPARED US FOR THE WAR'S AFTERMATH WHEN THE DESTRUCTION OF EUROPE'S TRADITIONAL POWER CENTERS SUDDENLY PROJECTED SOVIET INTO THE CENTER OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT.

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48 FOR HISTORY HAS MADE AMERICA THE REPOSITORY AND GUARDIA OF THE BEST VALUES OF MANKIND, FOR NO OTHER FREE NATION IS STRONG ENOUGH OR COHESIVE ENOUGH TO REPLACE US. WITHOUT OUR COMMITMENT THERECAN BE NO SECURITY; WITHOUT OUR DEDICATION THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS. WE MUST HAVE THE STEADINESS TO OPPOSE MILITARY PRESSURES AND THE VISION TO WORK FOR A MORE PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ORDER. MODERATION HAS MEANING ONLY WHEN PRACTICED BY THE STRONG, AND

STRENGTH HAS PURPOSE ONLY WHEN TEMPERED BY CONCILIATION.

49 THESE TWIN STRANDS OF FIRMNESS AND CONCILIATION REFLECT THE PERMANENT INTERESTS OF OUR NATION. YET OUR ABILITY TO PURSUE EITHER COURSE HAS BEEN, IN RECENT MONTHS, INCREASINGLY THREATENED.

A STRONG, COHERENT AND EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ROLE IS BEING JEOPARDIZED BY ACRIMONIOUS CONTROVERSY WHICH THWARTS SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF THE GREAT ISSUES, AND BY THE GROWING TENDENCY OF MANY IN THE CONGRESS NOT ONLY TO SUPERVISE BUT TO LEGISLATE

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THE DAY TO DAY CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY.

50 THE SLOGANS OF A PAST WE THOUGHT WE HAD TRANSCENDED ARE SUDDEN-

LY REAPPEARING. WE NOW HEAR, AGAIN THE SIREN SONG,
THAT SUFFERING IS PROLONGED BY AMERRICAN INVOLVEMENT, THAT
INJUSTICE IS PERPETUATED BY AMERICAN COMMITMENSTS, THAT
DEFENSE SPENDING IS WASTEFUL AT BEST AND PRODUCES CONFLICT AT WORST,
THAT AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES ARE IMMORAL, THAT THE SECRET
CONFIDENTIALITY OF DIPLOMACY IS A PLOT TO DECEIVE THE PUBLIC, THAT
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FLEXIBILITY IS CYNICAL AND AMORAL, AND THAT TRANQUILITY IS SOMEHOW
TO BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY AN ABSTRACT PURITY OF MOTIVE FOR WHICH HISTORY
OFFERS NO EXAMPLE.

51 IF THESE CONSELS OF DESPAIR PREVAIL, WE WILL DEPRIVE
OURSELVES OF BOTH THE CARROT AND THE STICK; CONCILIATORY
POLICIES AND FIRM MEASURES ALIKE WILL BE UNDERMINED BY
GROWING DOUBT ABOUT THE STEADINESS OF OUR NATIONAL WILL. AN
ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION AND A LACK OF EVEN THE MOST ELEMENTARY

CONFIDENTIALITY WILL REDUCE GOVERNMENTAL DISCIPLINE AND
SELF-CONFIDENCE, TURNING OUR ACTIONS DEFENSIVE, AND UNUSUALLY
SUSCEPTIBLE TO SHORT-TERM POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. IN AN ERA
WHERE THE DANGER OF WAR HAS BEEN REDUCED BUT THE HABIT OF
CONFRONTATION CONTINUES, THE GREY AREA BETWEEN MILITARY
CONFLICT AND DIPLOMACY ASSUMES CRITICAL IMPORTANCE. YET,
LEAKS, SENSATIONAL INVESTIGATIONS AND THE DEMORALIZATION
OF OUR INTELLIGENCE SERVICES--AT A TIME WHEN OUR ADVERSARIES

ARE STEPPING UP THEIR OWN EFFORTS--ARE SYSTEMATICALLY
DEPRIVING OUR GOVERNMENT OF ANY ABILITY TO RESPOND.

52 AND EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY REQUIRES A STRONG EXECUTIVE
AUTHORITY WHICH CAN ACT WITH ASSURANCE AND SPEAK WITH
CONFIDENCE ON BEHALF OF ALL AMERICANS. BUT WHEN THE
EXECUTIVE IS DISAVOWED REPEATEDLY AND PUBLICLY, OTHER
GOVERNMENTS WONDER WHO SPEAKS FOR AMERICA AND WHAT AN
AMERICAN COMMITMENT MEANS. OUR GOVERNMENT IS IN DANGER

OF PROGRESSIVELY LOSING THE ABILITY TO SHAPE EVENTS, AND A
GREAT NATION THAT DOES NOT SHAPE HISTORY EVENTUALLY BECOMES
ITS VICTIM.

53. TOO MUCH DEPENDS UPON A STRONG AND CONFIDENT AMERICA
TO ALLOW THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS TO CONTINUE. WHEN
AMERICA ABDICATES FROM SHAPING THE FUTURE, WHEN ITS POLICY
FALLS PREY TO THE PASSIONS OF THE MOMENT AND THE PLAY OF
PRESSURE GROUPS, IT DISHEARTENS FRIENDS, EMBOLDENS
ADVERSARIES, GIVES PAUSE TO THE WAVERING AND THUS UNDERMINES

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INTERNATIONAL ORDER.

54. WE HAVE NO CHOICE. WE MUST RESTORE OUR UNITY
WHILE THE ESSENTIAL STRUCTURE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS STILL
SOUND, AND BEFORE IRREPARABLE DAMANGE IS DONE TO OUR
FOREIGN POLICY. WE RETAIN
THE CAPACITY, IF WE HAVE THE WILL,
TO PREVENT MILITARY EXPANSION BY OUR ADVERSARIES. OUR
ALLIANCES WITH THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS HAVE NEVER BEEN
MORE SOLID. A FURTHER AGREEMENT TO LIMIT THE STRATEGIC
ARMS REACE IS WITHIN
REACH. WE ARE WELL LAUNCHED ON A DURABLE AND IMPROVING

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WORLD'S MOST POPULOUS NATION.
THE ELEMENTS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST EXIST.A
DIALOGUE WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD HAS BEGUN ON A HOPEFUL NOTE.
THE THREAT OF WAR AROUND THE GLOBE HAS BEEN REDUCED. THE
PRINCIPAL DANGER WE FACE IS OUR DOMESTIC DIVISIONS.

55. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE ARIGHT TO DEMAND AND END
TO THIS PROCESS. THEY HAVE HEARD ENOUGH ABOUT HOW EVIL
WE ARE, HOW TERRIBLE OUR MISTAKES, AND HOW MISGUIDED OUR
PROPOSES. THEY KNOW BETTER. AND THEY KNOW HOW MUCH
DAMAGE THESE CONTINUING ATTACKS ON THEIR COUNTRY HAVE DONE,
AND WILL DO, TO UNDERMINE AMERICA'S ABILITY TO KEEP THE PEACE.

56. WE HAVE EVERY OBLIGATION TO DRAW THE RIGHT LESSION
FROM OUR PAST MISTAKES, AND TO SEE THAT THEY NEVER HAPPEN
AGAIN. BUT WE HAVE AN EQUALLY COMPELLING DUTY TO PUT AN END
TO THE NAMECALLING, THE CEASELESS SEARCH FOR MALFEASANCE,
AND THE DENIGRATION OF OUR COUNTRY THAT HAVE SO COME TO
CHARACTERIZE THE NATURE OF OUR DOMESTIC DEBATE. A FALTERING
OF WILL ON THE PART OF A GREAT POWER THAT HAS FOR DECADES BEEN THE
PRINCIPAL GUARANTOR OF PEACE AND STABILITY CAN HAVE THE MOST
SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

57. THE WORLD IN WHICH AMERICA NOW FINDS ITSLF IS A WORLD
OF PROLIFERATING, OFTEN COMPETITIVE,AND SOMETIMES THREATENING
POWER. IN SUCH AN ENVIRONMENT WE MUST OFTEN GRAPPLE WITH
CHOICES THAT WILL NOT SOLVE BUT ONLY MANAGE PROBLEMS; WE
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MUST OCCASIONALLY MAKE COMPROMISES THAT BY DEFINITION WILL
NOT PRODUCE IDEAL RESULTS. WE LIVE, THEN, IN AN AMBIGUOUS

TIME IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES CAN NO LONGER OVERWHELM

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PROBLEMS WITH RESOURCES; WHEN IT NEEDS INSTEAD, PURPOSE, JUSTNESS, COHERENCE, FLEXIBILITY, IMAGINATION AND ABOVE ALL UNITY.

58. THE FORMULATION AND CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST, OF COURSE, BE THE PRODUCT OF CONSULATION AND ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT. NEITHER BRANCH CAN, ALONE, DETERMINE THE COURSE WE WILL PURSUE ABROAD. THE CONGRESS, ENTITLED BY THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE CONSITUTION AND BY THE PRACTICES OF TWO HUNDRED YEARS, MUST BE AN EQUAL PARTNER IN THE PROCESS.

59. BUT IF THAT PARTNERSTIP IS TO FLOURISH EACH BRANCH MUST RESPECT THE ROLE OF THE OTHER, AND EACH MUST RECOGNIZE THE LIMITATIONS--CONSTITUTIONAL AND PRACTICAL ON ITS AUTHORITY. THE CONGRESS

CAN SET BROAD GUIDELINES AND DECIDE BASIC POLICIES. BUT THE CONGRESS HAS NOT THE ORGANIZATION, THE INFORMATION OR THE RESPON-SIBILITY FOR DECIDING THE TACTICAL QUESTIONS THAT ARISE DAILY IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN RELATIOS. THE PRESIDENT DOES, AND OUST BE PERMITTED TO EXERCISE THEM ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE NATION, FOR IN THE LAST ANALYSIS THE UNITED STATES, WHEN IT DEALS WITH OTHER NATIONS, MUST SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE--THAT MUST BE THE VOICE OF THE PRESIDENT.

60. THIS IS NOT A PARTISAN POLITICAL ISSUE. FOR NO MATTER WHICH PARTY WINS THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION THIS YEAR, IT IS A HISTORICAL CERTAINTY THAT THE OTHER PARTY WILL ONE DAY AGAIN OCCUPY THE WHITE HOUSE. IT IS RATHER A MATTER OF OUR MOST BASIC SECURITY FOR A DIVIDED AMERICA TEMPTS AGRESSION AND SLOWS PROGRESS ENDANGERING THE LIVES AND WELL BEING OF OUR CITIZENS.

61. IT IS TIME WE RECOGNIZE THAT, INCREASINGLY, OUR DIFFICULTIES ABROAD ARE OF OUR OWN MAKING. IF AMERICA IS TO BE SAFE WE MUST CEASE DISMANTLING AND DEMORALIZING OUR INTELLIGENCE SERVICES.
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IF AMERICA IS TO PRESERVE ITS VALUES AND MAINTAIN THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF STABILITY WE CANNOT EMASCULATE OUR DEFENSE FORCES OR THOSE OF OUR KEY ALLIES FOR SHORT TERM POLITICAL REASONS. AND IF AMERICA IS TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF HELPING TO BUILD A WORLD ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH OUR CITIZENS CAN THRIVE AND BE FREE WE

CANNOT DENY OURSELVES THE TOLLS OF DIPLOMATIC FLEXIBILITY--FOR WITHOUT THESE OUR ONLY OPTION IS TO RETREAT--TO BECOME AN ISOLATED FORTRESS ISLAND IN A HOSTILE AND TURBULENT GLOBAL SEA, AWATING THE ULTIMATE CONFRONTATION WITH THE ONLY RESPONSE WE WILL NOT HAVE DENIED OURSELVES--MASSIVE RETALIATION.

62. WE MUST BE ONE NATION, ONE PEOPLE, ONE GOVERNMENT. OUR INSTITUTIONS AND SPECIAL INTERESTS MUST PURSUE- THEIR

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LEGITIMATE CONCERNS WITH AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE ARE BASIC, OVER-

RIDING, NATIONAL INTERESTS WHICH, IF NEGLECTED, WILL RENDER

POINTLESS ALL ELSE WE DO.

63. WE MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT OUR INTERNATIONAL ROLE HAS BEEN

A GREAT HISTORICAL SUCCESS. IN OUR FIRST TWO CENTURIES WE
HAVE DONE GREAT THINGS AS A UNITED PEOPLE. WE CAN ACCOMPLISH
EVEN MORE IN OUR THIRD CENTURY. AMERICA REMAINS THE STRONGEST
NATION IN THE WORLD; OUR GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO BE THE NOBLEST

EXPERIMENT EVER UNDERTAKEN BY MAN; WE STILL ARE AN INSPIRATION
TO ALL THE WORLD'S MILLIONS WHO ARE MUCH LESS FORTUNATE THAN WE.
OUR PAST ACHIEVEOENTS SHOULD BE BUT PROLOGUE TO A GREAT THROUGH
TROUBLED PRESENT AND THE EXCITING FUTURE THAT CROWDS IN UPON US.

64. IT IS, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, UP TO US.

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